

THE CATHOLIC MIND

VOL. XLIV

DECEMBER, 1946

NO. 1008

Christmas

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*Reprinted from The CATHOLIC SUN**

WHEN a man is both honest and clear-minded enough to be alone with essentials, he discovers that there are two great realities: the reality that is God and the reality that is his own soul. He finds, too, that it is in the nature of his soul to seek, to seek until he finds God and is fulfilled.

And now, as in all ages, men have in a measure succeeded in the quest. God has been found because we could not escape Him. As a craftsman leaves the mark of his handiwork upon his labors, the mark of God is on the world. And therefore, in the skies of night, along the far-flaming corridors of the stars, in the vast roofless halls of space, we can find Him: He is Majesty, He is Power. We can find Him in the surging of the tides and in

the crash of mighty storms: He is Majesty, He is Might. God is written in the very tracings on the rocks of earth, He is mirrored in every sunset, He is painted in every dawn, and before the magnificence of this, His constant revelation, men are moved to adoration and to wonder.

Our fathers too, in ages past, have followed after the quest for God, and they too have found Him. They found Him at the gateway of a lost Eden, and in the wreckage of that primal human bliss, they have learned of Him: He is Just, and He is Righteous. The very warfare within our fallen and divided nature is witness to the execution of His Justice.

Our fathers have known Him in the waters of a deluge and in the

burned towers of Sodom and Gomorrah they have learned of Him. Moses came to Him on a mountain top shaken with the thunder when His Law was delivered to us on the graven tablets of stone. When Israel was set to wandering, the Lord God went before as a pillar of fire by night, and a pillar of smoke by day. He is a Just God, strong and mighty in His ways. Men have sought and men have found and before the revelation of nature and the revelation of the Testament, there is but a single response: We kneel in humility, in awe and in prayer.

HUNGRY HEARTS

As Christmas comes again to the battered world, it still finds men, and men have always been, with a hunger in their hearts, and a search within their lives. The quest for God is as urgent now as ever it was in the past because men do not change. The quest still abides. But at Christmas there is a strange feeling of new expectancy and hope. A thousand candles burn, but their flame is a pale thing beside the light that now shines in human eyes. There is a sense of crisis in the air, as if some unthinkable beautiful thing were about to happen; there is a feeling as if some great decision were about to be settled in our favor. The very eve is hushed and waiting; every heart is listening, listening . . . when out of the quietness of this silent night, this holy

night, comes the faint sweet crying of a Child!

It is the cry of the Christ Child as it comes to us out of all the space of the intervening years. Out of His broken crib in Bethlehem's stable, from the circle of Mary's arms, out from His starlight and the sweetness of His angel song . . . in this holy night, we catch again the first cry of the Christ! And at the sound which this night brings, there is a sudden surging and lifting of our hearts in a joy so great that we are helpless to give it full expression. This is "the good tidings of great joy that shall be to all the people," for this day there was born to us in the city of David, a Saviour Who is Christ the Lord.

At Christmas we are breathless with the truth that God so loved the world that He sent His only begotten Son to save it. Therefore, we set all the bells to ring, but they can only be a faint echo of the glad tumult within our hearts. There comes a new warmth and a new friendliness among men. We catch ourselves smiling as if there were some great precious secret between us and because of which we call this day "Merry." Trees and branches and holly we bring to doorstep, to home and to sanctuary, because the gaiety of our minds demands it. We do not sleep this midnight! We sing! The old songs, the old tunes, the old hymns. "Glory to God in the highest," be-

cause we have discovered something again.

The quest of men for God is reversed. The adventure of living is turned round the other way. It is not men who seek God. The mystery of Christmas is this: it is God who seeks men. He has appointed His Star. He has chosen this hour. The profound depths of the Triune God are opened for men to see; we have looked into a stable and found "what great things were done for our salvation"; we have stooped with the shepherds to the heart of the Eternal, and found that . . . God is Love.

This is the real meaning of Christmastime. Beyond all else, that is the tremendous truth that throbs in this holy night. "The Word was made flesh and dwelt amongst us." And therefore, to keep Christmas is to experience all over again the Divine surprise that God should so love men that He stooped to a stable and clothed His Omnipotence in the frail fabric of our flesh. Christmas is not a day to remember; it is a gift to be shared. It is the chief thing in our heritage. When the shepherds came trooping over the hill country to find the Infant "wrapped in swaddling clothes and laid in a manger," they did not come alone. The Saviour was born, not only for them, but for all mankind, and twenty centuries of Christians have followed after them to see this word which had come to pass. And now again we are able to

stand with the shepherds and look towards the hallowed light that surrounds the Mother and the Child. In these tiny hands our destiny is placed; the hopes and fears of all the years lie in the straw beside Him.

Now not the thunder of the mountaintop of Moses, but only the hushed chanting of angels; not now the pillar of fire and the pillar of smoke, only the sweet light in the eyes of a Child; not now the destruction of a deluge . . . "He cometh as dew on the hillside and as rain upon the fleece" . . .; not now the swift Justice of Eden, but the swift mercy of Bethlehem; and thus to the appeal of Mary's Child there is but one response . . . not fear, but love. And unless the response is made . . . it is not Christmas time.

We have said that at the first Christmas the quest of man for God was reversed, and at Bethlehem it was God who sought men. That is what St. John meant when he wrote in his Gospel that God so loved the world that He sent His Only-Begotten Son to save it; and that is what the Church means by the tremendous doctrine of the Incarnation . . . that once our poor earth knew the treading of the Infinite, and God entered within the confines of humanity to rescue humanity from its own helplessness. And a doctrine so astounding as that cannot be met and then put off in a corner of the mind to be forgotten. It is quite true to say

that since the star shone on Bethlehem, the world has never been the same. A year that numbers a Christmas in the calendar of its days cannot be as other years. The consequences and the implications that stem out from the Infant's Crib have left their mark on every life and produced their effect on every soul in all the world.

THE LESSON OF CHRISTMAS

After Bethlehem there might still be poverty and injustice in the world, as there was a Herod in Judea; but there could no longer be any doubt about the human dignity and value of a man . . . even a poor man . . . for he is the object of Divine Love. After Bethlehem wealth might still be used as a measure of worth, but poverty ceased to be a crime . . . at least it ceased to be the poor man's crime. After Bethlehem there might still be pride, but it is humility that is the virtue. After Bethlehem there might still be degradation of woman, but there can be no doubt about the sanc-

tity of motherhood, and since the shepherds came to that broken stall, something of the light of Bethlehem has surrounded every mother with a child in her arms. After Bethlehem there might still be sorrow, but not hopelessness; there might still be pain, but not despair; life might still be dreary, but it could never be worthless. After Bethlehem there might still be sin, and rejection, as there was in Judea an innkeeper who rejected the mother and Child, but there could never be any doubt about the knock that comes to the door.

And after Bethlehem, too, there might still be war, although the crib lay under a song of peace for a Child Who is the Prince of Peace, but there can never again be confusion as to whence peace shall come and how it shall be held. Peace can only come to "men of good will," and peace can only be held in either the heart or the world through holding Him. That is the truth of Christmas, now, as it will be forever in any age, atomic or otherwise.



First Things First

The choir of angels heralding the birth of Christ put first things first. "Glory to God in the Highest," recognition of our dependence on God, dedication of society to Him, fulfilment of His Law—all these things are the absolutely necessary prerequisite of peace on earth. When the world, wise in its own conceits, smug in its mastery of science, turned its back on God, it turned unconsciously but with a fatal certainty to Mars, the god of war.—*Most Rev. Henry P. Rohlman, Coadjutor Archbishop of Dubuque, Christmas Message, 1944.*

Christmas in the Old World

AUGUSTINE C. KLAAS, S.J.

Reprinted from *The JESUIT BULLETIN**

QUAINT, instructive, amusing . . . these old-world Christmas customs, with their roots deep in faith and legend, deep in happier times than the present.

Some are common to all countries: going to midnight Mass, for instance. Can there be Christmas without Christ's Mass? And there's the Crib, with Mary and Joseph and their lovely Babe, not to forget the shepherds, their sheep, and the other animals, too. And surely there must be caroling to rival the Angels' song. And gifts for God's wondrous gift of the Christ-Child.

Various other customs, too, have grown up round this feast of joy, customs that seem to cluster about the home. And rightly so. For is not Christmas preeminently a family feast, especially the big feast of the small fry?

THE YULE LOG

England centers festivities around the Yule Log—called in Scotland the Yule Clog—symbol of warmth and light. It is cut on Christmas Eve with festive song, carried to the fireplace, and lighted from a bit of last year's log. An Englishman writes:

"Walking in line, we bore it home, headed by the eldest born at one end, and I, the last born, bringing up the rear. Three times we made the rounds of the kitchen; then, arriving at the flagstones of the hall, my father solemnly poured over the log a glass of wine, with the dedicatory words: 'Joy! Joy! May God shower joy on my dear children. Christmas gives us all good things. God gives us grace to see the New Year, and if we do not increase in numbers, may we not decrease!' Then the log was lifted on the fire dogs. As the first flame rose my father would say, 'Burn the log, O fire!'—and with that we sat down to table."

On the table, of course, is the Yule Cake, a candle on it for each member of the family and lighted by each in turn. Holly leaves of green, reminder of the crown of thorns, and red berries, reminiscent of the blood of Christ, deck the whole house in profusion. Nor is mistletoe forgotten. Good cheer prevails throughout the day, and plum pudding, dipped in brandy, is served in a blaze of fire. "*God Rest Ye, Merry Gentlemen!*"

In France mistletoe is hung in every doorway, bringing good luck

* St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kans., December, 1945

through the year. From the eaves of the house is suspended a shock of wheat for the birds, and an extra ration is tossed to the animals in the stable. The house cat must be overfed tonight because it is bad luck, indeed, if a cat mews on Christmas Eve.

Mother has been baking and cooking all day. The long table is at last prepared with choice foods, in the center the Christmas cake, its browned crust slashed with a cross. Father and the children bring in the Yule-log with singing and dancing, and ceremoniously put it in the fire-place, after baptizing it with wine.

At the proper moment the children light the crib's candles, tri-colored in honor of the Blessed Trinity. Then all the lights are extinguished. Only the candles in the crib and the crackling hearth fire illumine the merry, laughing faces. Suddenly the church bells ring out. The whole family now join in singing Christmas carols—*Noel, Noel!* And merry-making carolers come in groups to the house for the *reveillon*.

Finally, a star-like oil lamp, representing the Star of Bethlehem, is placed in the window, and the peasants, sabots crunching in the snow, hurry off with lanterns to midnight Mass. When at the elevation the chimes sound in the cold air, every church in the French country side is aglow and every home is lighted with a star . . . *Noel, Noel!*

Germany is the home of the Christ-

mas Tree. It was on Christmas Eve, many, many years ago, that Saint Boniface chopped down the giant oak, sacred to the pagan god Thor. By his brave deed he saved the eldest son of the chieftain Gundhar from being sacrificed to the god. All the assembled tribes were struck with astonishment at the powerlessness of their god. "Tell us then," spake Gundhar, "what is the word that thou bringest to us from the Almighty." "This is the word, and this is the counsel," answered Boniface. "Not a drop of blood shall be shed tonight, for this is the birthnight of the white Christ, Son of the All-Father, and Saviour of the world."

Then pointing to the pine tree behind him he continued: "This little tree, a young child of the forest, shall be your holy tree tonight. It is the wood of peace, for your houses are built of fir. It is the sign of endless life, for its branches are ever green. See how it points toward heaven! Let this be called the tree of the Christ Child; gather about it, not in the wild woods, but in your home; there it will shelter loving gifts and deeds of kindness." In joyous procession they carried the fir to Gundhar's house. There in the great hall they set it up and the sweet odor of balsam filled the spacious room. This was the first Christmas tree.

Every home in Germany has a tree, trimmed with lights, tinsel, baubles and candy. *Lebkuchen* and more pro-

saic gifts, such as socks, are placed beneath the tree. Nearby is the crib with a cradle that can be rocked. Above the merriment and laughter can be heard over the frosty snow the distant strains of "*Stille Nacht, Heilige Nacht.*"

Instead of the Christmas tree, Italy has a substitute combined with a crib. It is a pyramid from one to four feet high, made of cardboard and wood, containing three or four shelves, the whole covered with bright-colored paper, tinsel and glittering beads. At the top is a star, or a pine cone, or a doll; along the outer sides little wax tapers are fastened. On the shelves are put presents and sweetmeats, the lowest one being reserved for the manger and the other requisite personages and animals. *Gesu Bambino* is placed in the manger at midnight.

Bagpipers play the Madonna's favorite music before her shrines on Christmas Eve, and also pause for a tune before carpenter shops, in honor of Saint Joseph. The family gathers around the Yule-log for its evening frolics, twirling the urn of fate with its prizes and its blanks. And tonight "somebody is coming."

On Christmas day children write letters or poems expressing thankfulness and love for father and mother and hide these somewhere on the table, folded in a napkin, under a plate, or under the cloth. Of course father and mother do not see them until the meal is finished. They show

great surprise on finding them and read the messages aloud to the delight of all.

Children preach beside the crib in the churches. Lullabies are sung at the crib, as also the *Adeste Fideles*, Italy's gift to the world. People don't say "Merry Christmas"; they say "*Buon Natale,*" "Happy Birthday"—"for it is the birthday of the King."

SOMEBODY'S COMING

In most old world countries it is Saint Nicholas who brings his gifts on Christmas night, although sometimes he comes as early as his feast on December 6, and then again as late as Three Kings' Day, January 6, called Little Christmas. We name him Santa Claus, or Father Christmas. In Russia he is known as Old Man Winter. Spanish children set out on the balconies of their homes wooden shoes filled with hay for his horses, and in Belgium plates of oats are put out for the reindeer which he uses in that country.

Hungarians, however, say that an angel from heaven enters the window with the Christmas tree and a basket of presents. But the Poles maintain that it is a beautiful veiled woman all in white and they call her the Good Star. And in Italy it is *Befana*, an old witch-like hag who comes riding on a broomstick. This creature sometimes visits parts of Russia, too, where she is called *Babuska*. But in France it is the Christ-Child Himself

who comes and places His gifts in the little sabots on the hearth.

Even the lower world of creatures knows that there is something up on Christmas Eve. English cocks will crow to announce the coming of Christ; Italian bees will sing; Dutch cattle kneel in adoration; Swiss sheep march in procession; and German animals speak like men on Christmas night. Do they recall their ancestors in Bethlehem's cave long, long ago?

There is "Star-singing" all through the Tyrol: a lighted star is carried on a pole by groups of caroling young folk, dressed like the people of Bethlehem. The *Julebok*, a huge animal's head worn by a man, affords merriment by butting Scandinavian children around. Spain has its urn of fate from which one's fortune is drawn for the whole year. There are also bonfires and plenty of fireworks. And Spaniards say that the Virgin blesses every home in which she finds a crib on Christmas Eve.

In Poland and Lithuania, the Peace-Wafer, symbol of peace on earth, is fetched from the priest at

the rectory and given to each guest and member of the family. They break it and eat it while exchanging Christmas greetings.

DOOR OF HEAVEN OPEN

And in Ireland a candle will gleam from the window of every home, and the door will be open, for a couple may pass tonight seeking shelter for a Babe who is the Son of God. They say, too, in Ireland, that the gates of heaven are wide open all night, and any one who dies goes there direct, with no stop-over in Purgatory. At this, theologians merely wink.

And so we see the peoples of the old world in their quaint ways meeting on the road to Bethlehem on Christmas eve, and that's where we'll meet them, too.

*It isn't far to Bethlehem town,
It's anywhere that Christ comes down,
And feels in people's smiling face,
A loving and abiding place.*

*The road to Bethle'm runs right
through
The homes of folks like me and you.*



Pride of Race

The Jews of old failed entirely through pride to understand what it meant to be the Chosen People. Modern nations which vaunt their self-styled racial supremacy fall into the same error. All humanity, not one case or two, is called to share the joys of heaven.—NEW ZEALAND TABLET, December 19, 1945.

Restrictive Covenants vs. Brotherhood

THE MOST REV. BERNARD J. SHEIL

*Address delivered by the Senior Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago on May 11, 1946,
for the Chicago Council Against Racial Discrimination.*

TO BELIEVE in the intrinsic truth of the brotherhood of man presupposes and admits of a prior belief in the essential truth of the Fatherhood of God. For there can be no relationship of brotherhood that does not stem from the mutuality of fatherhood. Men are brothers not because of some mystic unity growing out of emotionalism, but because they proceed from a common origin—God. Strip from the brotherhood of man the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and you leave only a meaningless husk: a set of nice, but acquired mannerisms that may easily be discarded without fear of consequence. Deny the Fatherhood of God as the one and only basis for our common brotherhood and you open wide the door to the racial insanity of the "Superman" and all of the hatred, brutality and violence that follow inevitably in its wake.

We have just finished a horrendous world conflict in which a system of government, predicated upon the denial of the brotherhood of man in the Fatherhood of God, came within sight of total victory. All through that portion of the global action in which we as a nation participated, we trum-

peted forth from many rostrums and on numerous occasions our deep and abiding faith and belief in that great moral principle. We pointed with pardonable pride to our system of government, a great republic dedicated to the principles of democracy, and boldly enunciated that in the "Land of the free and home of the brave," all men were equal.

Even as we proudly announced our virtue, we realized that it was not completely true. But we had our fingers crossed; we shouted it as a tocsin and a rallying cry. Many of us, in our hearts, sensed the hypocrisy inherent in such lip-service, but assuaged our conscience by promising ourselves that, when the danger had been averted and the enemy defeated, America would move confidently forward to the fulfillment of the age-old dream. Our enemies knew of the inconsistencies between our brave words and our innocuous actions and utilized these contradictions in their propaganda. Yet, America in the moment of its greatest danger really did believe in the ultimate triumph of what Gunnar Myrdal in his monumental work termed "*The American Creed*." "For when the devil is sick, the devil

a monk would be." With pious thoughts and democratic ejaculations we made mental note of things to be done in the peaceful future when the term "duration" would have been dropped from our national vocabulary.

THE RACE QUESTION

High on the list of those things awaiting our attention when the war would have ended was the problem of the Negro; or rather, the problem of white America's attitude toward colored America. We felt, and our hearts were warm and a feeling of good-will permeated our entire being, that when the fighting was over we would easily move to smash this glaring anomaly in our national life.

The war finally drew to a victorious conclusion: . . . and F E P C went down to inglorious defeat. Our young men ceased to die in the muddy fields of Germany and on the coral beaches of the South Pacific . . . and the Anti-Poll-tax Bill was allowed to languish and die in the Congressional hopper. Young colored Americans no longer had the opportunity to prove their love for their country by winning decorations for gallantry and bravery, and those Americans who continued to plead for the establishment of a fair employment practices act, who begged that colored Americans be given an opportunity to cast their ballot, found themselves stigmatized as "crack-pots," or Communists, by

United States Senators whose only claim to fame lay in the fact that they had obtained their tattered senatorial togas through state elections in which only a scant percentage of the eligible voters participated. This was the shocking answer of white America to the plea for racial justice.

The time has come to face the facts and face them squarely. Brotherhood is but a shibboleth tossed on the wind if we are not prepared to accept the responsibilities inherent in it. How can we dare hope to establish a world peace and world order based on justice, if we cannot establish internal peace and order based on justice? Furthermore, it is the most stupid kind of hypocrisy to proffer the "lily-white" hand of friendship to a world predominately colored, and at the very moment that our hand is extended be guilty of the most vicious kind of discrimination against these, our darker brothers. It is high time we cease vitiating our moral principles by dehumanizing actions and move to correct the tragic consequences that have grown out of such actions.

In the hideous question of restrictive covenants we are faced with a problem that far transcends the question of democratic rights. It is one of the most basic factors mitigating against inter-racial harmony. Moreover, and this is the most important element in the entire problem, its solution is essentially a question of simple

justice and charity. How we eventually answer this question will plainly reveal whether we really love our neighbor, or merely tolerate his existence. The God-given right of every human being to an existence on a plane equal to his dignity as a child of God must of necessity be our guiding rule. Yet, the whole theory of restrictive covenants ruthlessly ignores this divinely ordained principle.

The mere existence of what we have come to term, (with an understandable sense of national shame) "Christian ghettos" is an absolute negation not only of the American Creed but of Christianity itself. The defenseless people whom we have caused to be walled in behind the legalistic concentration camps of America are mute witness to how far we have drifted from the original command, "love one another." The shallow attempts to justify and rationalize such "ghetto" tactics on the loose and shifting grounds of economic realism and expediency, is to stand condemned of the very crimes of which we accused Nazi Germany.

To the weak and futile argument contained in the premise of protecting "neighborhood property values," I can do nothing better than quote from Father George H. Dunne's magnificent article of recent date, "The Sin of Segregation" . . . "It is said that people have the right to protect the value and desirability of their homes by preventing undesirable

characters from invading the neighborhood. The tattered shreds of this well-worn argument ill conceal the naked sophistry underneath. Like all the other analogies, it ignores the essential difference between racial segregation and other kinds of segregation. Granting for the sake of argument, the right to keep moral delinquents or slovenly housekeepers out of the neighborhood, the question is: 'Upon what ground do you refuse admittance to one who is neither a moral delinquent nor a slovenly housekeeper and whose only offense is that he has Negro ancestors?' And the answer is: It is because you falsely and unjustly assume that the fact of Negro ancestry is itself a form of uncleanness. Establish your residential restrictions upon whatever other basis you choose—moral conduct, social grace, physical cleanliness, or domestic propriety. None of these restrictions imply the existence of a people whose nature is itself unclean. . . . The sophistry and hypocrisy of those who defend residential segregation by appealing to their right to maintain a proper standard of morals, of cleanliness, or of beauty surrounding their homes is made manifest by the undoubted fact that these same people, for the most part, would prefer a white neighbor who violated all of their standards to a Negro neighbor who more than measured up to their most stringent demands."

"A white debauchee," Father Dunne concludes, "will be admitted when a Negro saint would never be tolerated."

To list the evils which grow out of restrictive covenants is to enumerate the sins against charity of which we, the white population, have been guilty. Poor health, improper housing, disease, crime, to mention only a few, are the inevitable products of racial segregation. Coupled with the physical maladjustments are the numerous mental conditions imposed on both the white and Negro public by this un-Christian way of life. Racial fear and unrest, bitterness, friction, distrust, these are but a few of the many psychical neuroses which stem from restrictive covenants.

It is sickening to realize that, at the base, restrictive covenants and all of the other inhuman racial practices to which we have become inured are diametrically and blatantly opposed to every concept of Christian ethics. It is idle for those who engage in such racial practices to plead ignorance of the Christian teachings. They know, although they would undoubtedly desire to forget, that it was just such actions which Jesus Christ condemned when He warned: "Whatsoever you do unto the least of these, my brethren, you have done unto Me." When smug, complacent idolators of the *status quo*, or so-called defenders of property rights deny to any human being the opportunity to live

on terms of honest, objective equality, they are denying the Son of God. It is disheartening to have to acknowledge that otherwise good Christians completely ignore this stricture when brought face to face with the consequences of racial discrimination and blithely continue to interpose their own petty, unjustifiable prejudices.

BROTHERHOOD OF MAN

I have said before, and I repeat, that the churches of all religious denominations cannot be absolved from blame for the fact that social injustice, racial and economic inequality still remain as entrenched obstacles to the complete development of the American Creed. The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man are the basic dogmas of the Christian faith. Moreover, they are and must be the very source of our entire Christian way of life. Failure to understand this is failure to grasp the very core of Christianity. Nor does this principle offer any room for compromise. Too often in the past religious leaders, under the plea of prudence, have failed to appreciate or to teach fearlessly what the Brotherhood of Man means in terms of simple justice and charity for the poor, the underprivileged and the oppressed. Too much respect for the local banker, industrialist, realty operator, or politician has caused them to be silent when the teachings of Christ should have been literally shouted from the

house-tops. It is true that the Gospel is to be preached to all men of all stations of life, but it must be the same Gospel offered without suspicion of concession or surrender.

There is a time for the exercise of the virtue of prudence. There is also a time for courageous thinking and action; but there is never a time for

compromising with fundamental moral principles. Either we believed and meant what we announced to the world concerning the dignity of man and the essential community of his nature, or it is a lie. If we meant it then let us, for the love of God, begin to practice it, honestly and objectively.



Class Collaboration

If "we, the people" are to save our democratic way of life, if "we" are to further our movement toward the democratic goal, then management and labor *must* play as a team. I would like to see meetings of the National Association of Manufacturers and of the United States Chamber of Commerce, as well as all industry associations and city and state chambers of commerce, invite representatives of labor to sit in as observers at their meetings. Likewise, I would like to see unions invite representatives of business to sit in as observers at their national, state and city meetings. I would go further. I would say that none of these bodies should permit themselves to convene in session without representation from the councils of other groups being present. What can the workers say to themselves that does not concern management? What discussions can take place in management meetings that do not concern the welfare of labor? Indeed, what takes place in these meetings that each side does not ultimately learn about anyway? Both have their own publications that usually give full reports of these meetings. Why then the barriers? . . . Why does each side refuse to be a little humble and admit that perhaps its attitudes are cursing us into a class struggle? "We, the people" must find the answer. And the answer must be found in a willingness by all of us to think again in terms of "we, the people," as our forefathers did before us.—*Alfred Schindler, Under Secretary of Commerce, September, 1946.*

Appeasement Spells War

Excerpt from an address by William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, at Tulsa, Okla., Sept. 2, 1946

ON THIS Labor Day let us look forward—forward to a better world which we can help to create by our own efforts. In the world we envision, freedom of opportunity will be open to every one, while the fear of poverty will be banished forever.

Is this too much to hope for and strive for? In my opinion, it should be our minimum objective, rather than the maximum. Unless we attain these goals, we will have nothing. The world of tomorrow must be a world of peace, or no world. The next war, if we let it happen, may wipe out the human race.

Labor has always regarded war as the great enemy of mankind, leaving death, destruction, disease and destitution in its wake. But the terrible suffering which war has brought about in the past will be as nothing compared to the utter devastation that an atomic war of the future would produce. Not one nation, nor one continent, but the entire earth would be scorched. All our vaunted civilization, every living thing might go up in smoke. We cannot contemplate such horror, nor must we ever permit it to come to pass.

Yet here we are, more than a year after V-J Day, without having accomplished any perceptible progress

toward the goal of enduring world peace! Yes, we have set up machinery for the United Nations Organization, but the nations that compose it are united thus far in name only. In fact, every day sees them drifting dangerously farther apart.

As we view the proceedings of the European Peace Conference in Paris, it becomes increasingly apparent that the cause of peace is making very little progress. From the beginning this conference bore all the earmarks of a sham, because it completely ignored the paramount problem of establishing lasting peace with the one nation primarily responsible for the two World Wars—Germany. And as the conference progresses, we find the Great Powers becoming irreconcilably divided over minor matters. How are they ever going to get together on the big issues, when they can't agree on technicalities?

It seems to me that the time has come to face the facts, squarely and unflinchingly. If we let hot tempers and quarrels and border incidents continue, these constant irritations may develop into the cancer of war.

There is a basic division today among the Great Powers—a division which affects the smaller nations just as forcibly. The United States,

Great Britain and other democratic countries are ranged on one side, with Soviet Russia and her satellites in Eastern Europe and the Balkans on the other.

DESIRE FOR PEACE

During the war these two groups united to defeat and crush the common enemies—nazism and fascism. Today the victors are split into two camps—democracy and communism. Suspicion and mistrust are rampant on both sides. Unless something drastic is done about this situation—and quickly—the blueprint for the next war will soon be charted. This must be prevented at all costs. The people of every country in the world—including Russia—have had their fill of war. They don't ever want to see it happen again. Their will must prevail.

In view of this universal desire for peace, the undeniable conflict that exists between the democratic nations and the communist nations must be settled without resort to war.

To do this, it will be necessary first of all to stop appeasing Russia. Appeasement did not work with Hitler. It will prove equally disastrous with Stalin. We must be firm with Russia now or be forced to fight her later.

The bullying tactics engaged in by Soviet Russia and her communist dependencies are a sign not of strength, but of weakness. They are trying to

cover up their fear of the atomic bomb. Is it conceivable that nations which must depend upon our charity to feed their starving people are in a position to wage war against us? Unquestionably the Russians are clever traders. By acting belligerently now they hope to gain greater concessions at the peace tables. If we continue to yield, we will only add fuel to the conflagration instead of extinguishing the spark of war.

NEW POLICY TOWARD RUSSIA

The American Federation of Labor calls upon our Government to adopt a new course in our dealings with Russia.

We want a hard-and-fast agreement by every nation to abjure territorial aggrandizement, whether on the pretext of self-defense or on a frankly imperialistic basis.

We insist on a solemn commitment by every nation to guarantee to its people the fundamental and elementary freedoms without which their right to self-rule is stifled.

We call for the outlawing of slave labor everywhere.

We urge that the United Nations Organization be strengthened by a provision denying to any nation the right to veto world peace.

The American Federation of Labor supports the American plan for international control of all atomic bombs. Every nation should be forbidden to develop secret weapons for

aggressive warfare. This must be accompanied by world-wide disarmament.

Finally, it is imperative to restore the free flow of world trade on a mutually advantageous basis, so that no nation will be denied access to vital materials or prevented from us-

ing the air, the seas or other channels of commerce.

This program is completely fair to Soviet Russia and to every other nation of the world. But even more important, it provides the framework for enduring world peace based upon freedom and justice for all.



Work in a Pagan Society

The cheapness of labor in India is nowhere more evident than at a large railway station. Here in America we employ a red-cap to transport our luggage, and we toss him a dime, a quarter or a half dollar, as the case may be. There is no telling how much our familiar porter at the depot makes, but we may safely assume that he picks up a substantial amount of change in the course of a day's work.

In India it is different. Every first-class passenger passing to or from the train is besieged by a swarm of coolies, each one clamoring for the privilege of carrying his luggage. The lucky one who gets the job is rewarded with two to four annas, which amounts to four or eight cents in American money. And do those coolies work! The writer once saw a babu (prominent man, as a brahman or a rich merchant) boarding a train at a large railway terminal. He ensconced himself in a first-class apartment, and a sweating coolie brought his baggage in after him. There were suitcases, boxes, water pots, bundles of bedding, and steel cabinets containing business papers and money. These babus carry all these things with them, as they trust nobody at home with their valuables, and as they belong to the higher caste they must carry their drinking water, bedding and food with them, in order not to be contaminated by using what others have touched. The coolie brought all these things in, and the babu gave him a tip of one anna (two cents). The coolie complained, the babu snatched his anna back, gave him a box on the ear, and sent him away with no other reward. So goes life in a pagan society, where there is no sense of justice and coolies may be had a dime a hundred.—*Rev. William Frank, T.O.R., in THE CALL OF INDIA, Loretta, Pa., Nov., 1945.*

The Economic Folly of Our Reparation Policy

FERDINAND A. HERMENS

Reprinted from COLUMBIA*

NO COUNTRY can live indefinitely on the charity of other countries, and no country is likely to desire such a condition. Cardinal Stritch, after his return from Rome, said (according to the Chicago papers of March 6) that one European leader told him: "If you can't give us enjoyment of just our bare human rights, don't send us food and clothes; let us die like men." One of man's natural rights is the right to earn his living. To interfere with it is morally wrong. Besides, such interference will have serious economic and political consequences without as well as within that nation's borders.

The present world food famine is a case in point. *The New York Times*, in an editorial entitled "Famine and Peace" (March 24, 1946), mentions the adverse effects of war and climate, but draws attention also to those policies for which the victors are responsible. Removals of population by Russia (as in eastern Poland) and Russian-controlled regimes (principally in eastern Germany and in the Sudeten districts of Czechoslovakia) have, as one observer put

it in speaking specifically of eastern Germany, "converted one of Europe's surplus areas into a wilderness which contributes only to the famine conditions of that continent." Russian removals of men and cattle and machinery have had similar results, in the Far East as in Europe.

It would be erroneous, however, to assume that American policy has been free of faults. What was done at the Potsdam conference was a policy for which American initiative is clearly evident, and frankly recognized. In a previous *New York Times* editorial ("To Stop Starvation," issue of March 21) we read: "Another cause of (food) shortage is undoubtedly the reparation terms as they have been announced and applied. To tell individuals, or to tell a nation, that their living standard will not be permitted to go above a predetermined level, regardless of the effort they put forth, is one of the most certain ways of reducing effort. And it is surely not the way to collect maximum reparations." In fact, it would be correct to say that the program at first suggested by Mr.

* New Haven 7, Conn., August, 1946

Morgenthau at the Quebec conference, then somewhat modified on various occasions, is not a program for reparations at all. It is based upon the principle of inflicting the maximum damage upon the vanquished rather than of securing the maximum benefit to the victors.

POLICY OF RETRIBUTION

What some of our own men concerned with these negotiations thought has, unfortunately, not been made public to a sufficient extent. An exception is provided by Mr. Laird Bell, formerly Deputy Director of the Economic Division of the Office of Military Government, who was for some time associated with General Draper in Berlin. On December 10, he gave a talk before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations in which he referred as follows to Mr. Morgenthau's original ideas and their embodiment in the famous Joint Chief of Staff Directive 1067 (written for the most part by a member of the Treasury Department): "The policy that was evolved is one of retribution. It tears down, it punishes, it calls for years of suppression if not oppression. It was conceived in hate and born in war hysteria."

Directive 1067 may well be called, by future writers on economic history, the Prohibit and Prevent Directive. It directed General Eisenhower to "prohibit and prevent" the operation, or reconstruction, of a

number of key industries. German industrial capacity, at the moment hostilities ended, was not as large as the sensational reports publicized by the Kilgore Committee would have it, but it was substantial. It would have been easy to close down plants directly related to the war, and get the rest going, in order to stem the onrush of poverty and destitution which swept the continent in the wake of war's destruction. It was decided to do the opposite. Subsequently, a number of industries have been permanently banned; they are to be dismantled and their machinery shipped to other countries (where a good part of it will end on the junk heap), or be destroyed on the spot.

The destruction of German industries is being advertised as a measure for the promotion of German agriculture. What it means for the latter is apparent from a paragraph of the latest edition of the Department of Agriculture's publication entitled *The World Food Situation*, which reads: "The American zone is satisfactorily provided with both draft and animal power, but supplies of commercial fertilizer, spare parts, and new machinery, are quite inadequate. . . . In the British and French zones as well, commercial nitrogen and phosphates will be unavailable and the supply of spare parts and machinery very short."

Kathleen McLaughlin (one of the few reporters in Germany who gives

us facts rather than propaganda, and does it ably) related on March 2 (*New York Times*) the following remarks by an American Colonel, dealing with the performance of German farmers:

The farmers have performed handsomely at great cost to themselves. . . . They have brought in their milk under tremendous handicaps—with their trucks breaking down, their horses unshod and no horseshoes obtainable to equip them. They have farmed their land with hoes and rakes and the help of the few tractors still operating, working on a pooling basis. It is going to be pretty embarrassing for us when we have to go to these Germans and say: "Well, boys, you have done a fine job. You have kept your part of the bargain. Sorry, but we can't keep ours."

There was another report by the same writer (*New York Times*, March 8) that in the British zone cattle, including dairy cows, were being slaughtered in order to stem off, or reduce, imminent starvation. The British had no illusions as to the meaning of this; one of their men predicted that the "battle of next winter" would be even more strenuous than the current one. Dairy cows not only provide the children's milk, but they are for many small farmers in Germany the only available form of animal draft power.

German industry, if left to itself, could have produced all the fertilizer

necessary, not alone for Germany, but for a good part of the rest of Europe as well, where it is also badly needed; it could have produced the spare parts for lack of which a great deal of available machinery stands idle; it could have provided tractors and trucks to make up for the loss of animal draft power which not only in Germany, but also in Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Austria has reached catastrophic proportions, being largely responsible for the fact that areas which normally produce heavy agricultural surpluses are now begging UNRRA for supplies to keep the starving children alive. In Germany, the production of tractors is to be restricted to less than the pre-war figure. Actually it is, at present, almost negligible. With the general deterioration of conditions following from the "prohibit and prevent" directive, the figures of industrial production permitted by the Allied Control Council have a habit of remaining on the paper of the experts who calculate them.

The Allied agreement of March 28 reaches the point of complete insanity in the provision that "until 1949, locomotives may be repaired, but not manufactured." This at a time when all over Europe (and even in parts of the Western Hemisphere, in particular Argentina) transportation breakdowns are one of the reasons for the difficulties in raising food, and in shipping food once it has been

raised! Consider just one example. The Danish fishing fleet is idle for four days a week. It used to send millions of pounds of fish to Germany, but in that country there is no transportation, and besides, the Germans have no money to pay for such imports. They could, of course, produce industrial goods which the Danes would be glad to take in exchange, but such goods do not exist. They will not exist, in fact, for a long while, except on the paper of our experts in Berlin, who figure that industrial activity will sprout lustily in one sector of the German economy even if it is arbitrarily disrupted in a closely related sector.

THE FOOD SITUATION

Meanwhile, the "realists" on the Allied side have their field day. Sir Ben Smith, British Food Minister, suggested at a news conference in Washington, on March 13, that Germany and Japan be placed at the end of the queue in the distribution of the world's food supplies. That, of course, would mean the throwing of millions of people to the wolves, and some political leaders in England as well as in the United States (such as former President Hoover) are working hard, and with partial success, to reverse this policy. Sir Ben's reasons are, however, slightly more complicated than it seems. Britain is not in an enviable financial position, and her share in the cost of occupying

Germany, greatly swollen by the need of paying for food imports, is, according to *New York Times* of April 15, 80,000,000 sterling a year. Much of the food has to be paid for in dollars, of which the British are short. If the food goes to India, where the need, God knows, is great, it costs the British nothing, since blocked sterling credits are available.

The American position is better because our own zone needs fewer imports, and besides we can better afford to pay the bill. Yet, a report by Sidney Shallett to *The New York Times* of April 3 spoke of setting aside \$800,000,000 for the feeding of Germany and Japan. The British and American total for both countries, then, runs up to a billion dollars a year. Mr. Morgenthau's policies have had the result that we are paying reparations to Germany and Japan—reparations for our folly in not allowing them to produce the goods which they need both to increase and to transport their own food output, and to export goods with which to pay for their food imports.

This situation has other, and more ominous implications. Our State Department works hard to check the further spread of Communism in Central Europe. But does not the policy of weakening the economic and social fabric of Germany and her neighbors play straight into Communist hands? We often wonder how to check Russia without provoking her.

Why on earth do we not see to it that conditions in the zone which we control are as conducive as possible to Western ideas of government?

Then too, there is Justice Jackson laboring in Nuremberg to strengthen international law. At the same time, we weaken it in our zone of occupation in Germany, and use economic pressure against neutrals, in particular Switzerland, who refused as long as she could into being coerced into doing what she believed to be unlawful. Article 46, Section 2, of the Hague Convention on the Laws and Customs of War on Land, to which this country is a signatory, says: "Private property cannot be confiscated." The State Department and the other government agencies concerned have, of course, lawyers in their employ willing to prove that private German property, within Germany and without, can be confiscated, as they would be willing to prove a great many other things. They do not dare submit the matter to the judgment of impartial experts either in this country or abroad.

In case of arbitration, the American claims would hardly go very far. Impartial opinion is not unlikely to agree with Professor Bonn, who in the April 11 issue of *The Commercial and Financial Chronicle* says: "It (the Potsdam plan) adopts the Communist thesis that all enemy property is legitimate 'booty.' . . . It is a very curious spectacle to see a small neu-

tral European nation (Switzerland) defending the social order of the Western world for the maintenance of which the Western Allies went to war—the right of the individual against arbitrary government — against the attacks of the victorious democratic powers. Nobody can hope for respect for private property from the Russians, but the pressure on Switzerland is exercised by the United States, and not by the Soviets."

American opinion has been in a stupor so far as the economic and moral aspects of our so-called reparation policies are concerned. These policies were strongly rejected by our public opinion when first presented to it in October, 1944, and then put into effect by Executive action, without our public taking notice. The British, closer to events, have seen things more clearly. The leading editorial in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, of April 5, 1945, entitled "Economic Folly," begins with these words: "The British Government should find some means of repudiating the Allied agreement reached in Berlin on the future of German industry. By the side of it the economic clauses of the Treaty of Versailles shine like the highest wisdom. The agreement is unworkable. To attempt to carry it out will not only create a permanent unemployment problem of millions in Germany but will lead to the continued impoverishment of

Europe. . . . It is something to know that this iniquitous agreement did not carry our willing consent."

The Economist, the world's most respected economic journal, published, in its issue of April 6, a series of five articles by staff members who had studied the issues on the spot in Germany. The opening paragraph of the first article contains the statement: "The publication of the plan for German industry robs the future of hope." One of the articles is entitled "The New Luddites," comparing the architects of the Potsdam declarations with the British workers who, in the beginning of the last century, tried to cure unemployment by smashing machines, and continues: "The mood reflected in the Allied plan for German industry is as anachronistic and as dangerous as the primitive and spontaneous machine-smashing of the Luddite age."

Reference is made to the fact that even if the annual steel production of 5.8 million tons were reached—it is very far from that level at the present time—it would not suffice. "What is planned is a genuine steel famine for Germany, under which liberal encouragement to the Germans to develop consumers' industries is little less than a mockery. The Berlin plan provides, in fact, for the decay of consumers' as well as producers' industries." There follows a conclusion as damning as any that has ever greeted a government policy supposedly

devised by experts: "It is a naive illusion—an illusion which betrays an extraordinary ignorance of the dynamics of modern industry—to believe that a highly industrialized country like Germany can be compelled to stabilize its industrial activity on some wantonly chosen level, and then remain on that level for any length of time. The result of such restrictionist operations is almost certain to be a decline even in the modest level of industry that has been allowed Germany under the plan."

AMATEUR DIPLOMATS

It is time for each and every one of us to wake up to the realization of what our good names are being used for. Let it be repeated that this is an American policy, adopted by our democratic Allies only as a result of severe pressure—much of which, incidentally, was exercised not by the State Department, but by the amateur-diplomats who populated the Treasury Department during Mr. Morgenthau's reign, and who have continued to dominate it, practically undisturbed, ever since. (The newsletter, *Human Events*, reported in its May 8, 1946, issue that the Treasury was still trying to make its own foreign policy when Léon Blum was in this country to negotiate the French loan.) The aim of these gentlemen, apparently, is not to rule *or* ruin, but to rule *and* ruin.

Germany is at present, to quote

again *The Economist*, a "subsidized slum." The country was made into a slum when Mr. Morgenthau and his friends succeeded in substituting their schemes for the sane and sensible plans made by the State and War Departments after years of careful study. The subsidy is necessary because it is—as yet—not quite possible to let everyone starve who would have to starve if, after every practical measure of self-help has been denied to the people of Germany, we should refuse to finance any imports. So we do finance some imports but dole them out with an air of generosity—forgetting that what our policy-makers have destroyed, and keep on destroying, is more valuable than what we are able to give. The people of Germany, if allowed to work with their machinery and their manpower—a vital part of their manpower is still held, of course, as prisoners of war, after the end of hostilities, in slave labor—could pay for necessary imports and could produce reparations besides.

If any additional illustration were needed of the utter recklessness of the kind of "planning" to which Germany is now being subjected, it could be provided by the population figure on which the plan of the Control Council is based. The Russians, fixing their estimate upon the number of Germans who had been killed according to their rather bombastic war communiques, suggested 62 millions. The American figure was 71 millions.

So they split the difference—that is the way in which "unity among Allies" is maintained!—and fixed the figure at 66.5 millions. Then, on April 14, little more than two weeks after the announcement of the plans of the Control Council, a body of Allied experts placed the German population figure (including, of course, those expelled from their homes in eastern Germany and other territories) at 74 millions. All of which means that for up to 7.5 million people no source of livelihood is even planned! Add to that the fact that the official estimate as to future German industrial production is utopian, and the ultimate result is not a policy of reparation, but of ruination and perhaps extermination.

Are we, or are we not, willing to allow a power-drunk bureaucracy, and their journalistic allies (among which *PM* is always in the lead), to continue with a policy which seems calculated not only to copy, but to outdo, what the Nazis did? Or will we remember our civic responsibility and see to it, that every Senator, and every member of the House of Representatives, who is returned to Washington, will join the ranks of those of his colleagues (numerous already in both Houses) who insist that an end be made of the current policy of reckless destruction to which our English Allies are applying such terms as "lunatic," "immoral" and "unworkable"?

Church in War-torn China

GEORGE MARIN, S.J.

*Reprinted from JESUIT MISSIONS**

LITTLE did I dream on July 7, 1937, when leaving Suchow for Peiping, to open a house where newly arrived Jesuit missionaries could study the Chinese language, that I was traveling on a history-making day. The following morning I learned that a shot had been fired at Lukowchiao (or Marco Polo Bridge not far from Peiping). It was the pretext for the so-called Sino-Japanese "incident." We thought this would be only a small quarrel, soon to be patched up like so many before. But it turned into a terrible war in which China gave ground but never gave in, then became a part of the Pacific War and thereby merged into World War II. China has been in it then for more more than eight dreary years, longer than any other belligerent, with the exception naturally of Japan. Eight years is a long, long time to be at war. How did our Jesuit Missions pull through it all?

Jesuit missions stretch from Peiping, former capital in the North, to Hongkong and the Portuguese colony of Macao in the South, nowhere very far inland. In North China there are now three missions: Sienhsien, with its flourishing univer-

sity and Middle School in Tientsin, confided to the Jesuits of the Champagne Province of France; Taming, evangelized by Hungarian Jesuits, and Kinghsien in the care of Austrian Fathers. In Peking, Chabanel Hall for language study is a house common to all the Jesuit missions in North and Central China.

In Central China, in Kiangsu and Anhwei, the Jesuits of the Paris Province formerly labored but since 1922, this territory has been given over to several other Provinces of the Society and to the native clergy, the mother mission keeping what is now called the Shanghai mission. Two Spanish Provinces take care of the Wuhu and Anking missions, the Italian Fathers took over the Pengpu mission. All three are in Anhwei Province. In Kiangsu Province, Suchow mission in the north is administered by Canadian Fathers, and Yangchow mission by the American Jesuits from California.

In South China the Portuguese Fathers work in the diocese of Macao, confided to the secular clergy. But the present Bishop, H. E. Mgr. Ramalho, happens to be a Jesuit. Some Jesuits are helping in the diocesan seminary, but most of them are

* 962 Madison Ave., New York 21, N. Y., July-August, 1946

laboring in the interior, northwest of Macao, in and around the city of Shiu hing. The Irish Fathers have all their work in Hongkong: Regional Seminary for the South, Wah Yan College for Chinese boys, Ricci Hall . . . a hostel for students of Hongkong University where some of the Fathers have often given lectures, and Loyola Hall where newly arrived missionaries learn Cantonese.

At the beginning of the Pacific War all these missions together counted about 750 Fathers, Scholastics and Brothers. The territory entrusted to the Society by the Congregation of Propaganda had approximately 58,000,000 inhabitants, of which, according to mission statistics, 504,804 were Catholics in 1940. Now what did the war do to these missions? Churches, schools, residences, chapels have been burned, bombed, damaged. Some suffered no damage whatever but unluckily fell under Communist control. As a result, sometimes a whole mission compound would be completely pulled down, brick by brick, until nothing was left of a formerly flourishing mission center. All the building material was carried away by them. If I attempted to enumerate all the damages, the list would be too long. Most of the buildings of our Fathers in Hongkong were hit by shell fire, but losses from looting were more severe.

What is much more serious is the loss of mission personnel, especially

of missionaries. The laborers are all too few in this vineyard of the Lord and their formation requires so many years! Almost at the beginning of the war in 1937, a young missionary, Fr. Sontag, was killed point blank by a Chinese sentry, probably through some mistake. And all during the war the Japanese time and again accused the mission of various crimes, arrested missionaries, seminarians, catechists, servants, kept them imprisoned, sometimes for long periods, tortured them and killed many. Some died in prisons from maltreatment, many were bayoneted to death. In this way, at Sienhsien alone, 4 Fathers died, 1 Scholastic, 1 Brother, about 10 seminarians, more than 20 catechists, 4 or 5 servants.

MISSIONARIES PERSECUTED

In one center, while I write this, one mission, now in Communist-controlled territory, is undergoing martyrdom. The compound has been thoroughly looted, the Fathers are accused of divers crimes for which they are fined 67 billion dollars (Red money) . . . at the present rate of exchange (fixed by them) anything from 500 million to one billion U. S. dollars!!!! Almost all the Chinese Jesuits have succeeded in fleeing from one mission walking through fields at night, hiding by day, and this in the dead cold of winter with nothing but the clothes they have on their backs. Outright persecution has thus driven

out of their house Philosophers, Juniors and Novices. The valuable mission library will perhaps be a total loss. The printing presses have already been confiscated. Humanly speaking it is the end of a prosperous mission. But God's Providence is guiding everything and one day the Church will be rejoicing there with an even greater number of faithful children.

The Shanghai mission can boast of two glorious martyrs, two Chinese secular priests who in the beginning of this war were murdered for attempting to protect the chastity of women whom the Japanese soldiers were demanding. Elsewhere Fr. Simons, an American, Fr. Goncalves and Fr. de Gassart were all murdered by unruly elements during the war.

Suchow mission also lost several missionaries. Frs. Dubé, Bernard and Lalonde were shot by the Japanese in March 1943. Before that, a Brother had been killed by a Japanese sentry and another so seriously wounded that he has never been able to recuperate sufficiently to do his work as formerly.

Anking Mission lost a Brother and four Presentandine nuns who were drowned when their boat struck a mine on the Yangtse River. In Wuhu mission Fr. Ponsol was killed. Fr. Calavia almost lost an eye and suffered other severe injuries when his Mission station was bombed. Fr. Gurrea was also seriously wounded

one day when Japanese soldiers threw hand grenades into the cellar where he and other refugees were huddled trying to avoid shell fire.

How many missionaries have aged prematurely, how many fine strong young priests have become run down as a result of dangers continually undergone, internment, hunger? From 1941 until today in 1946 not a single missionary has come from abroad, whereas in normal times about forty missionaries on an average would arrive yearly for our China missions. During these five years about 200 new men would have normally come to keep up the work already begun and to push ahead. For in a mission country, the ideal is not just to keep things going, but to keep advancing into the surrounding pagan community. Will those 200 who would have come, ever come? Alas, probably only a small portion, and there's the saddest loss of the Missions.

During the first two years, when Japan was attacking vigorously, refugees poured into mission compounds everywhere, and the missionaries multiplied themselves heroically to help anyone and everyone. They did their best to protect the population against cruelty and injustice; they took care of the sick, the wounded; the orphans, the widows and the aged. As a result, thousands of pagans came into contact with the Church, began to know her, were

struck by the charity of Christ which the missionaries tried to imitate. Consequently thousands of conversions followed. But as the occupation dragged on and things began to settle down more or less, occasions for practicing charity diminished, became less striking for the multitudes, and the refugees returned to their former ways of living. Hardships of all kinds increased as time went on. The country's whole economic structure was upset, prices kept skyrocketing. Never before were the people so hard-pressed to eke out a miserable living. Taxes of all kinds were imposed on the people by all sides, the Japanese, the guerillas, the puppet troops of Nanking, the Reds. Soldiers and workers were drafted right and left. Life became a nightmare. The troubled state of the country often prevented the missionaries from visiting their flock in the out-stations. The faithful were often prevented from going to church on account of distances, unsettled conditions rendering all travel dangerous, and so forth *ad infinitum*. Catechumenates therefore little by little closed down. Many schools did likewise, principally for lack of funds. Of late more of our schools have been closing in Communist-controlled territory, because the Communists prohibit all schools but their own and because the children are kept busy from morning to night by propaganda organizations. Result: many chil-

dren born of Catholic parents are still unbaptized, invalid marriages have greatly multiplied, and thousands of children have grown up without Catholic training. This is the saddest of all.

FINANCIAL PLIGHT

What has sorely tried the missions during the war was the impossibility of receiving financial help from abroad. Money restrictions by the Japanese, and by most other countries, too, made it almost always impossible to get money, and if it did come, on account of controlled exchange, only a wee little rivulet trickled in instead of the stream that had been contributed. Since this was the case, our procurators at home wisely held back money destined for the missions. Perhaps the money is over there in the U. S. A. or in Europe waiting for the dikes to give way, but in the meantime missionaries have to live parsimoniously. The mission personnel is reduced to a skeleton staff, poorly paid. Everywhere sacrifices have been made to keep the seminaries going and in none of our Jesuit missions, thank God, have these been closed down. The future of the missions depends on them. Nowhere have our colleges and universities shut their doors. We have maintained them at enormous costs and under most trying circumstances. They are now flourishing as never before. But with the return of gov-

ernment schools and Protestant staffs and millions for private schools, competition will now start most seriously. And unless our finances receive a great boost, we will hardly be able to keep up the swift pace which others will set.

What will the future of the Church in China be? In order to repair the enormous spiritual losses,

in order to be able to make inroads in the millions of pagans waiting for the light to dawn, if we wish to break down the terrible danger of Communism in this country and save China for the Faith, if we want our schools to be truly Catholic, Catholics everywhere must get together and pray fervently that the Kingdom of Christ come soon in China.



Industrial Peace

I undertake to say that both labor and capital will invite their own destruction and their subjugation by the totalitarian state if they permit the economic struggle to go much further than it has already gone. It is not that I have fears for the overthrow of free government here by internal revolution. It is rather that a calm view of the international scene makes it clear that world peace and the re-establishment of free government abroad cannot possibly be attained if we dissipate our strength in senseless conflict over the distribution of the plenty which America has already demonstrated it can produce. Without world peace, we shall be condemned to continued preparation for war and freedom will be under bond to fear.—*Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming to the Graduating Class of 1946 of De Paul University, June 12, 1946.*

THE EDITORIAL MIND

Buyers' Strike

THERE are times when even radio commentators are on the side of the angels, as in the case of the broadcaster who told his radio audience that the best answer to uncontrolled prices was controlled buying. In the course of this fervent exhortation good Christian philosophy was expounded.

The great, gullible, easy-going American public was reminded that it did not really need many of the things whose purchase at inflated prices would leave them broke and badly bent. Of course, it doesn't. It is possible to get along without nylons and electrical appliances. The old jolopy can give good enough service for another spell.

But while others look upon a "buyers' strike" as an economic weapon in a balanced economy, we see it as something even more fundamental. It is the answer to the yearnings and appetites always present in man's nature, but aggravated and exaggerated by the compelling ballyhoo of modern advertising. Proper restraint of the itch to buy and acquire will not only keep down prices, but it is also—and even more to be desired—a necessary

step to interior peace and happiness.

Pagan philosophies were quick to see that the happiest man is the man with the fewest wants. While everyone wants and should have all that is needed to live a full, decent, human life, it would be tragically false to assume that the more a man possesses the more contented he will be. Human nature is not built that way.

The detachment practised and loved by the saints is merely the Christian good sense which enabled them to estimate the world and its riches at their proper value. This detachment is the product of humility. Egotists are invariably miserable. Exaggerated self-love breeds exaggerated wants and desires. The humble man sees things as they are, without the distortions of self-love, and knows that a man's good does not consist in increasing the number of his wants but in diminishing them.

A buyers' strike is a powerful economic weapon. Were people to hold on to their money, inflation could be remedied in a month's time. Prices will stop skyrocketing when it is seen that Mr. John Q. Public will not buy at inflated prices. However, not only economic but spiritual and social benefits accrue when the general pub-

lic realizes that happiness consists in what you are more than in what you have. — *THE CATHOLIC MIRROR*, Springfield, Mass., September, 1946.

Keep Christ in Christmas

ABOUT this time of the year most Americans are enthused with preparations for the Yuletide season. The main concern seems to be this: To whom shall I send greeting cards? What shall I buy for my folks and friends for Christmas?

The sentiments, in themselves, are noble manifestations of charity. But they should not dominate our perspective of the great Feast of Christmas. The focal point in our love and devotion should rather be the Divine Infant in the manger. Without Christ there never would have been a Christmas to gladden the hearts of humanity. Consequently, in a Christian nation, there should be no Christmas without Christ.

The very name of the feast is derived from Catholic sources. It has been called Christmas in remembrance of Christ's Mass—the Holy Sacrifice offered upon our altars on the feast of Our Savior's Nativity. But have we adhered to this original meaning?

Regretfully we have not. Many of those men who capitalize on the Christmas business in its various forms profess no belief in the Divinity of Christ. For others, the feast is wholly

materialistic—the exchange of gifts, a family reunion, and a plausible excuse for another “liquid” celebration.

A great many of our Christmas cards are bereft of the true meaning of the holy season. Artists have forgotten the Divine Babe and His Virgin Mother as they employ their talents to produce lifeless winter scenes, antiquated coaches, carousing merry-makers, or various species of the animal kingdom. The accompanying verses or prose sentiment usually match the artist's “masterpieces” for consummate absurdity.

Christmas has no true meaning without Christ as the central figure. Eliminate the Saviour of the world and you reduce the feast to the status of a secular holiday. Giving means nothing unless imbued with the spirit of Him who became incarnate in order that man might be saved.

Keep Christ in your Christmas and He will be your Unseen Guest when you assemble in happy reunion to commemorate His birthday in Bethlehem. — *THE REGISTER*, Steubenville, Ohio, Dec. 7, 1945.

The Stepinatz Trial

THE propaganda trial of Archbishop Stepinatz in Zagreb has no more relation to justice than that of General Mikhailovitch. The defendant is only a target through which the poisoned arrows of the prosecution are aimed at a larger objective.

As the Mikhailovitch trial was used to advance the Communist party line that the United States and Britain approved and supported the Nazi occupation of Yugoslavia, so the Stepinatz trial is being used to charge the Catholic Church with a similar collaboration.

Archbishop Stepinatz has been tried and convicted in Tito's slave press. No one outside of Yugoslavia doubts that the verdict of the four-man court, at once judge and prosecutor, is already signed and sealed. But the churchman, dragged to the bar, is proving more formidable than he was when free. He is unafraid, unbroken and seems careless of the fate reserved for him. He refuses to defend himself as an individual but defends his right to exercise his ecclesiastical functions among his flock and bestow the blessings of the church on all its faithful. Not since Cardinal Mercier, Roman prelate of Belgium in the First World War, and Pastor Niemoeller in Hitler's Protestant Germany, has any churchman so boldly faced entrenched tyranny, shielded only in the armor of his conscience.

The Communist dictatorship will not tolerate among the masses any influence it cannot digest and use for its own nutriment. It will acknowledge no control over men's minds other than its own. The Catholic Church, especially powerful among the Croats, is the strongest bulwark

against communism in Yugoslavia today. Therefore it must be crushed. Murders of priests by the secret police have failed to crush it. The trial of Archbishop Stepinatz is the heaviest weapon against the church Tito has yet rolled out. If the lessons of religious history mean anything, he is merely making a martyr, whose spirit and influence he cannot kill.—*N. Y. TIMES, New York, N. Y., Oct. 3, 1946.*

Bulwark of Democracy

BISHOP BERNARD J. SHEIL pointed up an issue for all of us in his reply to the ridiculous charge of Upton Close that he has fomented "Communism." Reiterating a keynote of his recent address to the American Veterans Committee, the bishop declared: "People who are well-fed, well-clothed and well-housed are not interested in Communism. If we make American democracy work, not only politically, but economically and socially as well, we can conquer any ideology."

Bishop Sheil needs no defense by anyone. Least of all does he need to be defended from a spreader of poisonous reaction like Upton Close. The bishop is one of the most effective builders of American democracy in this country. His brand of democracy is, accordingly, the greatest of safeguards against Communism. That is true not because he goes

around looking for "Reds" under beds—he doesn't—but because he has a positive, Christian philosophy of social justice which he fearlessly upholds in action *for its own sake*, and which offers more by far to man than any Communist ever can.—CHICAGO SUN, *Chicago, Ill., Sept. 5, 1946.*

Behind the Wheel

WITH every reason to fear that the post-war increase in automobile traffic will mean the establishment of new records in highway fatalities and injuries, a determined campaign has been launched to offset this trend, through education, warnings and stricter legal controls. This campaign deserves every possible form of support on the part of the public, as the losses and sufferings through preventable automobile accidents have for years constituted 'a national scandal.

And even if the total number of deaths and injuries and the total amount of property damage were not so staggering, the moral issues involved would still be of serious importance. For under the Fifth Commandment we are obliged to avoid doing physical harm to any person

and to take proper care of our own life and health; the Seventh Commandment forbids destroying or harming the property of any person, so that any automobile accident resulting from recklessness or carelessness almost certainly means that one or both of these Commandments has been violated. It is recklessness for any person not physically and mentally capable of driving an automobile to take one out on the highway; it is recklessness to drive at high speeds; it is recklessness to disregard any of the laws and safety instructions which have been adopted for the protection of automobile drivers and passengers as well as of pedestrians. Since the intoxicated driver is a proven menace to himself and to others it is wrong morally as well as legally to operate an automobile while under the influence of liquor.

Strangely enough, while the automobile has become an almost essential factor in American life, the moral issues involved in its use and misuse have not received proper recognition. And moral standards must be observed if the evil of "death on the highway" is to be overcome.—THE PITTSBURGH CATHOLIC, *Pittsburgh, Pa., May 16, 1946.*

Vespers

REV. DESMOND A. SCHMAL, S.J.

Reprinted from THE ARK*

AFTER the Eucharistic Sacrifice the public celebration of the Hour of Vespers has always been considered of prime importance among the liturgical services of the Catholic Church. Today Vespers forms part of the daily office chanted by monks and canons and recited privately by priests throughout the world, but originally it was celebrated as the first public function of Sundays and feast-days, because according to an ancient Jewish and Roman custom, which the early Church adopted, the civil day began at sunset. The English name "Vespers" is taken from the Latin word for "evening" and thus means "evening prayer," or as it was called in Catholic England, "even-song." (The same may be said for the word "Vecerni" used among the Ukrainians.)

The service was also known at one time as the *Lucernarium*, the lighting of the lamps. Two reasons are adduced for this latter appellation. Some think that Vespers was consciously substituted by the early Christians for the evening sacrifice of the Jews, who at the beginning of the Sabbath lit a special light in the temple; and this custom was also adopted by the Church at the Ves-

pers of Saturday evening which began her celebration of the Lord's Day. Others incline to the opinion that the name *lucernarium* arose because the hour at which Vespers was performed necessitated the lighting of the lamps in the church. Whatever be the origin of the name, the lights burning during Vespers and shining through the dusk of the early evening, for the primitive Christians symbolized Christ, the Light of the World, and prayers and psalms were chosen which both emphasized this symbolism and indicated the hour of the service.

Thus it became the universal practice to chant Psalm 103 which contains many appropriate verses, as for instance: "Thou (O God) art clothed with light as with a garment"; "He hath made the moon for seasons, and the sun knoweth his going down"; "Man shall go forth to his work, and to his labor until evening." So, too, Psalm 140 found a place among the Vesper prayers because of its second verse: "Let my prayer be directed as incense in Thy sight; the lifting up of my hands as an evening sacrifice." It was this verse, also, which suggested the use of incense during the Vesper service.

* 111 W. North St., Stamford, Conn., May, 1946

As the various rites developed in the Catholic Church, there was an evolution in the form of Vespers, but we would, no doubt, be safe in saying that in all of the rites there are preserved some of the elements of the primitive Christian ritual. If we compare the Vespers of the two most widespread Catholic Rites, the Roman and the Byzantine, we will discover that it is the latter which has remained closer to the original form of the service.

THE ROMAN RITE

In the Roman Rite five psalms, sung consecutively, are always assigned to Vespers, except on Holy Saturday when Vespers forms part of the Mass. These psalms vary according to the day of the week and to the feast being celebrated, but they are always chosen from the series of psalms from 109 to 147. Each psalm has attached to it an antiphon, a short verse which either sets forth a prominent idea taken from the psalm itself or which is appropriate to the feast or ecclesiastical season. The psalms are followed by the Little Chapter, as it is called, a brief reading from Holy Scripture which is likewise chosen for its appropriateness to the feast or season. Next comes the hymn. The Roman Vesper hymns are of ecclesiastical origin and some of them, at least, by their references to light remind us of the ancient *lucernarium*. The *Mag-*

nificat or Canticle of Our Lady marks the solemn climax of the Roman Vespers. While it is being sung, the altar, ministers and people are incensed. A prayer, usually the same as the collect of the day's Mass, is then chanted and the service is brought to an end with the silent recitation of the Lord's Prayer and the singing of an antiphon in honor of the Blessed Mother.

It is quite clear that the Roman form of Vespers differs very much in the arrangement of its prayers and psalms from that of the Eucharistic Sacrifice in the same rite. The Byzantine Rite, on the other hand, models most of its official services on what is popularly known as the Mass of the Catechumens, the first part of the Divine Liturgy. This is true, for instance, in its administration of the Sacraments and also in the celebration of Vespers. This latter office, as in the Roman Rite, has as its basic component the recitation of some of the inspired psalms of the Old Testament; but it also contains many prayers of ecclesiastical origin, some of which, the *Ektений* or Litanies, are the same as those sung during the Holy Sacrifice. The psalms are not all recited consecutively as in the Roman Rite, but are interspersed with the other prayers and chants; and ordinarily, at least, the same psalms are always appointed for Vespers. Here we find a close link with the ancient Church,

for the first of the psalms chanted is the one hundred and third with its verses so appropriate for the evening hours. Among the Ukrainians and others who use the Byzantine Rite, Psalm 140 is likewise retained as a Vesper prayer. Corresponding to the antiphons of the Roman Vespers there are a number of *tropars* and *stikheras*, short chants which are proper to the feast or season of the year.

CLIMAX OF BYZANTINE VESPERS

If we were to point out any one element as marking the climax of the Byzantine Vespers, we would probably not err in saying that it is the singing of the hymn "O Tranquil Light"—an ancient *lucernarium* chant whose origin is lost in antiquity, but which was considered by St. Basil in the fourth century as coming down from the time of the Apostles. On the larger feasts the singing of this hymn is preceded by a procession about the altar corresponding to the Little Entrance, or procession with the Gospel Book during the Divine Liturgy. The word-

ing of the hymn is very beautiful and in a concise way it outlines for us, we might say, the origin and history of the Christian Vesper service: "O Tranquil Light of the holy glory of the immortal, heavenly, holy and blessed Father, Jesus Christ; having reached the setting of the sun, and beholding the evening light, we glorify God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Worthy art Thou at all times to be praised with reverent voices, O Son of God, who givest life to the world; therefore the world doth glorify Thee."

In place of the *Magnificat* of the Roman Vespers, the Byzantine Rite substitutes the Canticle of Simeon, so much in keeping with the spirit of the evening hour of prayer, for it calls upon Our Lord as "a light to the revelation of the Gentiles, and the glory of Thy people Israel." The Blessed Mother is greeted with words which exalt her above the Cherubim and Seraphim; and the service closes in the typical Byzantine manner with the recitation by the officiating priest of a prayer of dismissal.



Peace on Earth

One kind of Christmas peace is within man himself: this is the joy of a good conscience, which is always possessed by men of good will. This is a truth known from experience, and expressed by Dante's words, "In Thy will is our peace."—*From the 1943 Christian message of Most Rev. John J. Mitty, Archbishop of San Francisco.*

Stalin's "Freedom" of the Press

BORIS J. NICOLAEVSKI

Reprinted from *The New Leader**

THE past decade has taught mankind to appreciate the value of freedom of the press. The totalitarian nations could carry out the policy of provoking war only after they had abolished freedom of the press. For this reason persistent efforts have been made recently in all free countries in support of the compulsory establishment, by international agreement, of the freedom of press, as a means for preventing new wars. "The right to know" has been called the basis of all other rights.

Stalin's semi-official organ, *War and the Working Class*, has also taken part in the discussion of this problem. In the magazine's opinion, freedom of the press does not exist in America, in Britain, or any other capitalist country; it can be found only in Soviet Russia, where every toiler enjoys the right to voice his opinion publicly. Therefore it may be pertinent to give the reader an idea of what freedom of the press in Russia really looks like.

Despotic governments of the past used various systems of control over the press, but none was as complete and effective as Stalin's. Metternich in Austria, Nicholas I in Russia, Napoleon III in France—inventors of

the most celebrated systems of censorship in the past—were pigeon-hearted novices compared with Stalin. What he introduced in Russia is not simply a censorship—it is a complex system of censorships complementing and controlling one another so elaborately that not a shadow of opposition thought can slip through the net.

To begin with, there is in Soviet Russia a preliminary censorship supervising every printed word: the censor's permission is required for the printing not only of books and newspapers, but also of visiting cards, ledgers and letterheads. This preliminary censorship is carried on by a special government office called *Glavlit* (its full name is Chief Administration of Literary and Publishing Affairs), attached to the People's Commissariat for Education. (It has been an old tradition of Russian absolutism to entrust organs of education with the suppression of the freedom of press.) However, within the Commissariat *Glavlit* enjoys complete independence.

Glavlit effects its control along two lines. Its representatives are attached to every publishing house, and without their preliminary permission no

* 7 East 15th St., New York 3, N. Y., February 24, 1945

manuscript may be printed. They are members of the staff; they work on the premises of the publishing houses and are paid by them. Responsible to their superiors in the *Glavlit*, they consult them in every doubtful case. An important manuscript has to be read by several censors, and only after obtaining the censor's stamp, and compliance with all his demands, may the publisher send a manuscript to the printer.

The second line of control consists in the supervision of printing houses by Commissioners of the *Glavlit*. The function of the Commissioners is only to see that every printed text conforms to the text released by the first group of censors, and that each publication bears the censor's stamp. Until 1940 this stamp read: "Commissioner of the *Glavlit*, No.—," but since then only the number is indicated. The lack of such a stamp on any printed matter—book, pamphlet, newspaper or magazine—brings severe penalties to the manager of the printing house.

These first two forms of censorship are not the most important ones. Like all former censorships, they watch the press from *without*. But in Stalin's scheme this *external* supervision plays a collateral role. More important is the task assigned to the Bolshevik Party, which holds a monopoly of political activity and exercises an unlimited control over the press. *All the editors of all the publications in*

the Soviet Union, without any exception, are appointed by the Press Bureau of the Communist Party. It is to these editors, after confirmation by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, that the main task of censorship is assigned.

THE PRESS BUREAU

Within the Party, all matters pertaining to the press are centered in the Press Bureau, a division of the Office of Propaganda and Agitation of the Central Committee. This office is headed by a member of the Politbureau, Zhanov, but its actual head is G. Alexandrov (an alias), a relatively young Communist, without a pre-revolutionary record, and author of *The Formation of Marx's and Engel's Philosophic Views*. He began his Party career in the period of the great Moscow trials, and reached prominence in 1939 by his defense of the Stalin-Hitler pact. After the signing of the pact, an All-Union Conference of Party Lecturers was convened by the Propaganda Office for instructing local Party officers. The highlight of the conference was Alexandrov's report. It dealt with the subject, now rather fashionable among ranking Stalinists, of Marx's and Lenin's views on political foresight, and was intended to prove that scientific forecasting of the future is feasible, and that, accordingly, every decision made by Stalin, who is endowed with this foresight, should

be accepted as infallible. This report earned Alexandrov his present position.

The Press Bureau issues to the editors all the necessary instructions. Far from being confined to the elementary task of suppressing oppositional thoughts, the Press Bureau keeps an eye on authors to see that they interpret political events in accordance with the Party line. An elaborate system of influencing writers functions continuously. Editors are the mainspring of this system. As a rule they reflect more accurately the views of the government (i.e. the Party) than do the censors of the *Glavit*. They are therefore in fact the main censors of all works published under their editorship.

Not for a moment does the Press Bureau relax its grip on the editors. Every publication printed in any part of the USSR is minutely analyzed by the Bureau. This is accomplished by a staff of employees—before the war there were more than four hundred; since the war the number has been increased. They prepare daily reviews of the press. Individual records are kept for each editor and author, registering every detail concerning them, even typographical errors in their publications; an error in reprinting a speech by Stalin, even an innocuous one, calls for severe punishment, not only of the proofreader, but also of the editor. These records are constantly revised and brought up to

date, and upon them depends the fate of the editor and the writer. Of course, the slightest deviation from the Party line is severely punished, and no reference to a previous approval of a censor of the *Glavit* will be of any avail.

Soviet newspapers have no correspondents wiring to them reports on events abroad. All the information that is released to the press concerning events in foreign countries, passes through the channels of the official press agency TASS. In Moscow this information is studied by experts who work under the direction of a special commission appointed by the Press Bureau, with the participation of representatives of the Foreign and Home Commissariats.

This commission determines what facts are fit for the Soviet reader to know. Even major events abroad are sometimes suppressed, if they are likely to tempt the reader to indulge in ideas which the government considers undesirable. Whatever information is acknowledged as proper for the Soviet reader, is presented in a spirit consistent with the government's views, and is sent to periodicals throughout the country. This is the only information of which the Soviet press can avail itself, and the reader in Vladivostok learns from his local paper exactly what the reader in Baku or Murmansk does.

Excepted from this rule are only certain Moscow publications: *Pravda*,

War and the Working Class, Izvestia, and a few others. Now and then these periodicals publish letters from their own correspondents, yet such letters are invariably written by specially designated persons in high position, strictly censored by the Press Bureau.

The leading political articles and editorials, particularly comments on foreign affairs, are written in Moscow upon special instructions of government organs. Some of these articles are beamed over the radio, between 12 and 1 a. m., the most important ones, twice. They are taken down in shorthand in the offices of the local newspapers, and on the next morning all newspapers throughout the USSR carry the same editorials. The unanimity of public opinion is truly amazing!

This multiform and totalitarian control continues beyond the domain of the Press Bureau. The third organ supervising the press is the state secret police. Some twenty years ago, within this police (then called GPU) there was formed a special division, called Division of Literary Control, for watching authors and the trends prevailing among them. The Division gathered information about every author of any consequence as to how he lived and worked, what he wrote and how he reacted to current events. He may have written in the most loyal manner, never have had any conflict with the censorship—still the Soviet

Government was not satisfied; it wanted to know whether his writings reflected his innermost sentiment, or whether they were a product of shrewd hypocrisy.

INFORMATION SERVICE

In the recent general reorganization of the political police, this Division, too, was transformed, but its essential functions were taken over by a division of the Information Service of the Home Commissariat. A great number of secret agents attached to this Division keep it informed about private conversations among writers, the inside life of editorial offices, literary groups, etc. The greatest attention is paid to the most popular writers who occupy a special position in Soviet Russia. They are courted because of their popularity, and their material well-being is equal to that of responsible members of the Government and of the Party. They are presented with residences, country houses, automobiles, trips abroad—yet all the time they are kept under strictest surveillance. From the Government point of view, any sense of mental independence on their part may become dangerous, for it may be reflected in their writings, and nowhere is the might of the written word realized as it is in Soviet Russia. Accordingly, as soon as a writer exhibits the least token of inner independence, he is taken to task by the supervising organs.

The method applied in this case is the same old method of alternatively luring and terrorizing, with the difference that in Russia both are carried to the extreme. Compliance is rewarded by betterment of his material circumstances, and by honors and decorations. Since the whole press, all publishing houses and printing shops are a monopoly of the state, the Government can stifle the activity of any writer. A hint from above will suffice to close all doors to him. His works will no longer be accepted, his most brilliant writings will remain on his desk. If he persists, the pressure increases: he is evicted from his apartment (for, in Soviet Russia, apartments, too, are under state control), every source of income is closed to him and, what is perhaps the worst of all, no one will ever hear of his tragedy. The end may be arrest or death. Such outstanding Russian writers as Pilniak, Paul Vasiliev and Babel vanished, leaving no trace.

THREE STATE ORGANS

Thus, the pyramid of press censorship consists of three state organs complementing one another:

1. *Glavlit*, which performs the preliminary, external censorship, similar to that which in former times existed in every despotic state—with the im-

portant difference that it is far more complete.

2. *Press Bureau* in the Office of Propaganda and Agitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, which controls all the editors of all the publications and publishers in Soviet Russia. The Bureau supplies all publications with compulsory material on all important questions, and censors publishing houses from within.

3. *Division of Literary Control* in the Information Service of the Home Commissariat, which seeks to dominate the minds of writers.

Every single printed word in the USSR is carefully supervised from several sides. Yet all these supervisors are in their turn controlled by the supreme authority—Stalin. His is the ultimate decision as to the personnel of the three offices.

Thus, it is evident that all the talk about freedom of the press "guaranteed to every worker and peasant in USSR" is utter nonsense. In his conversation with Eric Johnson the dictator remarked that in Russia there is no other opinion than his, Stalin's. He is the only one in Russia who really enjoys freedom of the press: the right to cram his opinions down the throats of 190,000,000 people in his vast empire.

The Baltic States

J. HAMPDEN JACKSON

*Reprinted from TIME AND TIDE**

AMONG the omissions in the Postdam Agreement there was one which has escaped general notice. Nothing was said about the Baltic Republics. These nations are still officially, if tacitly, recognized as independent States by the British and American Governments. By the Russian Government they have been regarded for the last five years as constituent Republics of the U.S.S.R.

This anomalous situation cannot be understood without reference to the events of 1939-40. By 1939 Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania had enjoyed almost twenty years of undisputed sovereignty, the legal basis of which was Soviet Russia's unconditional abandonment of Tsarist Russia's claims upon them and her recognition of their complete independence in the treaties of 1920. No one till the summer of 1939 suggested that their independence constituted a menace to peace or their internal regimes an insult to democracy. But in June, at the time of the Anglo-French-Soviet negotiations, the Russians proposed that a guarantee, which would involve Russian bases on Baltic territory, be extended to the Baltic States. The Baltic Governments de-

murred, holding that their Non-Aggression Pacts with Moscow were sufficient, and neither Mr. Chamberlain nor Mr. Churchill saw any reason to press them. "It is sufficient," said Mr. Churchill, "for the Great Powers to declare that the invasion or subversion of the Baltic States by the Nazis would be an unfriendly act, in the full diplomatic significance of the term, against the Grand Alliance."

After the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact and the ensuing partition of Poland between Germany and Russia, M. Molotov renewed his demand for Russian bases in the Baltic States in more urgent manner. The Baltic Governments gave in with as good a grace as they could muster, leasing military, naval and air bases to the Russians on the explicit understanding that "the realization of this Pact should not affect in any extent the sovereign rights of the contracting parties, in particular their economic systems and state organization." (Article V.)

The Russians behaved admirably for over half a year. Then suddenly, in June 1940, when the eyes of the world were turned on the Nazi erup-

* London, England, Sept. 29, 1945

tion to the Atlantic seaboard, the Russian Government sent an army to occupy the whole of the Baltic States, on the grounds, never proved or seriously reiterated, that their Governments had been conspiring against the Soviet Union. There followed a month of terror during which the Baltic countries were cut off from communication with the outside world, their leaders imprisoned or deported (with the exception of President Smetona of Lithuania, who escaped to America by way of Germany) and their civil liberties abrogated. Almost the first news that penetrated the West was that the Russians had got puppet governments to hold unconstitutional elections in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and that the resultant deputies had voted for inclusion of their Republics in the Soviet Union.

No Government has ever professed belief in the validity of these elections—except the Nazi Government which, having helped to pave the way for them by whistling the German minorities out of the Baltic States, hastened to offer her congratulations. Vigorous protests came from Washington, where the State Department protested against “devious processes by which the political independence and territorial interests of the three small Baltic Republics were to be deliberately annihilated by one of their more powerful neighbors.” More tangible judgment was

passed on Russia's action when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union in June, 1941. His armies marched right through the Soviet's Baltic lines on their way to besiege Leningrad, meeting no resistance from the Baltic peoples, who were anxious only to get rid of the Russians. The bases which the Russians had been building for over eighteen months proved worse than useless, for a large Russian force was by-passed and trapped in Western Estonia.

NO RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

The Germans failed as signally as the Russians had failed to get any popular support from the Baltic peoples. Men who had taken to the *Maquis* to hold out against the Russians, continued to defend themselves against the Germans, and when the Nazis had to retreat from Tallinn in 1944 the free Estonian flag was raised on the citadel for a moment before the Russians again marched in.

The second Russian occupation of the Baltic States resembles the first. The Soviets have changed many planks in their platform since 1940—they have proclaimed religious toleration and a degree of freedom for their constituent republics—but none of these changes is reflected in their policy in Estonia, Latvia or Lithuania. These Republics are more forcibly and thoroughly *gleichgeschaltet* than ever they were by the Nazis. Religious toleration may have been

extended to the Orthodox minorities, but the Lutheran and Catholic majorities have no freedom. In Lithuania, a Catholic country, no Catholic newspaper is published, no Catholic school or seminary is open.

British newspapers have been loath to publish evidence of Russian oppression of the Baltic peoples for fear of weakening the alliance against Germany and of jeopardizing the chances of alliance against Japan. It was an unworthy fear and it has had a shocking result. The British public, so healthily impervious to its own Government's propaganda, has begun to believe that of the Soviet Government. When *Pravda* said the other day: "We recall the days when the People's Parliaments of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, elected by universal suffrage, decided to establish a Soviet regime and asked for incorporation in the U.S.S.R.; Baltic workers knew that a Soviet regime meant freedom, prosperity and cultural development for the people,"

there was no journal to remind the British public that those 1940 elections were made on a single-party list hand-picked by a Russian-controlled committee, and that workers in the free Baltic Republics had been incomparably more prosperous and culturally developed than any in a Soviet republic.

Today the Russian case for incorporation has lost any validity it may once have had. Germany is no longer a menace. Russia's control of Baltic ports is guaranteed by her incorporation of Viipuri and Koenigsberg, which Britain and America have recognized. Mr. Bevin will be as well able as Mr. Eden to sift the evidence on the alleged elections of 1940. By continuing his predecessor's policy of refusing to recognize Russia's incorporation of the Baltic States, he will be upholding the main principle for which Britain went to war: and he will be in a position to do so without incurring Communist suspicion of ulterior motives.



Religion and Peace

We accept the logic of events which accords with our long held convictions that in world affairs, as in affairs of individuals, we can gain our own safety and happiness only by seeking to secure the safety and happiness of others.

The peace and prosperity of every nation in the modern world depends on the realization that the saying that all men are brothers is a sublime truth that must be applied in practice.—*Prime Minister Attlee of Great Britain, November 9, 1946.*

Catholics and Race Equality

MOST REV. FRANCIS J. HAAS, Bishop of Grand Rapids

*Address at Mass Meeting sponsored by Catholic Interracial Council of
Detroit, September 8, 1946*

IT WOULD seem appropriate on this occasion to take up two questions. The first is "What is the Catholic position regarding Negroes?" and the second, "What does that position require Catholics to do?" The first calls for a discussion of *doctrine*, the second for that of *action*. To these two central concepts I invite your attention.

I ask you to consider first the Catholic position with respect to Negroes. By "position" I mean the premises on which we stand when we hold, as we do, that the Negro is equal before Almighty God, to every other person among the 22 hundred million human beings in the world, regardless of the color of their skin—white, yellow, red, brown, or mixed. Frankly, we did not think out these premises ourselves. We did not discover them in test tubes or with any of the other paraphernalia of the laboratory. They are divinely revealed and, as Catholics, we accept them without question, as coming from the single source of Truth, God Himself.

"Premises" are in everyday language "reasons." They are the grounds on which a person stands when he takes a stand. Thus the

white men and women who voted in the National Opinion Research Center Poll, published August 18, 1946, gave reasons as well as votes. To the question, "Should Negroes have as good a chance as whites to get any kind of a job?" 47 per cent of those interviewed answered that Negroes should have an equal chance, 49 per cent answered that whites have first chance, and 4 per cent were undecided.

It is not to the results of the Poll that I would call your attention, but rather to the reason which the persons interviewed gave for the way they cast their votes. The reason most frequently given was: "The Constitution says Negroes should have equal rights." A housewife in Atlanta, Georgia, appealed to the Declaration of Independence: "Each individual is endowed with inalienable rights, and all men are created equal." Another person, an old-age pensioner in Waltham, Massachusetts, declared: "In a democracy people of every race and creed should have an equal chance at jobs." A librarian in Virginia asked: "Why all this talk about world democracy if we don't clear up our own back yard first?" A Chicago fac-

tory worker asserted: "I have seen Negroes being drafted in the war to fight the same as us—so they should have the same chance now."

These are reasons—Constitution, Declaration of Independence, ideals of Democracy, and need of winning the war. I do not comment on these reasons, but merely point out that the voters in the Poll had reasons for voting as they did.

We Catholics have reasons for the position that we take on racial equality before God, and while as Americans we hail the glorious principles of our Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, and yield to none with respect to the necessity of maintaining democracy in war and in peace, yet as Catholics our reasons for interracial equality are deeper than any or all of these. What are the Catholic reasons? They can be put simply.

It was into the human race that Jesus Christ was born Man. It was for the human race in its entirety—Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid—that He suffered and died and rose gloriously from the dead. And we may not forget that He prayed that the human race be one in Him, in order, as He Himself declared, that the world would have visible proof of His divinity. Oneness through Him was to be the evidence that men could see that God had sent Him as His Divine Son.

On the eve of His death He pleaded

with His Father: "Yet not for these only do I pray, but for those also who through their word are to believe in Me, that all may be one, even as thou, Father, in me and I in thee; that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me" (*John 17:21*). Thus it was His prayer that mankind be one not only in being united in Him, but in being united within itself. Here would be proof for the world to see that God had sent Him.

Accordingly, except for purposes of classification, in Catholic thinking there is no such thing as "races," minority or otherwise. There is but one race. It is the human race. And call it what you will—human species, *homo sapiens*, or simply mankind—it is one.

INCITES CLASS HATRED

I will not discuss the careless and even selfish uses to which the term "race" is frequently put. We have heard *ad nauseam* of the "Nordic" race, the "Jewish" race, and even the "Super Race," and we are all too aware of how these terms have been utilized to incite class hatred, exalt the national ego, and even to promote war.

Neither is it necessary to spend any time on the widely held differences between Negroes and whites, such for example, as to blood constitution, body odor, and natural gifts. Needless to say, these supposed differences

are completely without foundation. Sister Mary Ellen of Rosary College, Chicago, has examined them from the scientific standpoint in her splendid *Racial Myths*, found them to be wholly without factual basis, and rightly consigned them to the realms of imagination and prejudice.

Hardly anything is so foreign to Christian sentiment as the idea of basic differences or of anything suggesting essential inequality among the various branches of the human family. The Apostle of the Gentiles taught without reservation or restriction: "There is neither Jew nor Greek; there is neither slave nor freeman; there is neither male nor female. For you are all one in Christ Jesus" (*Gal.* 3:28). And he placed the essence of this oneness in the one Mediator, Who links the whole human family to its Creator: "For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, himself man, Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all, bearing witness to his own time" (1 *Tim.* 2:5). And thus he could assure the Ephesians: "One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism; one God and Father of all, who is above all, and throughout all, and in us all" (4:5).

Let us make one more reference to St. Paul. You will recall how in at least three of his Epistles he asserted that the followers of Christ form a corporate whole—or if you will a corporation—and he compared this corporation to a person's body. He

seemed obviously to like the figure.

To the Romans he wrote: "For just as in one body we have many members, yet all the members have not the same function, so we, the many, are one body in Christ, but severally members of one another" (*Roms.* 12:4). In his first letter to the Corinthians he elaborates on the idea of the organic unity of the human body, and likens it to the unity holding Christ's followers together: "For in one spirit we were all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Gentiles, whether slaves or free; and we were all given to drink of one Spirit. For the body is not one member, but many. . . . If the whole body were an eye, where would be the hearing? . . . And if one member suffers anything, all the members suffer with it, or if one member glories, all the members rejoice with it" (12:13-26).

Now, it is interesting to note that the pagan Plato, some 400 years before St. Paul, used this same metaphor, likening a well governed state to a healthy human body. In his *Republic* Plato asserts: "And it is that (the State) also, which most closely resembles the individual man: just as, when a person's finger is wounded, the entire fellowship of feeling, extending through the body towards the soul, and producing that harmony which is the work of the governing principle within it, (viz. the soul) experiences a sensation, and at the same time wholly sympathizes

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with the ailing part; and thus we say that the man has a finger-ache: and so also, and with respect to any part whatever of the human frame, the same reasoning applies either with respect to grief, when a part is in pain, or with respect to pleasure, when it is at ease" (*Republic*, Book V, C. 11).

But it is extremely important to remember that Plato's "State" did not include *all*. It included only free men. While Plato condemned the practice of the Greeks having Greeks for slaves, his State excluded non-free citizens. It definitely accepted the philosophy of "minority" races, not only blacks but many whites as well.

Here, then, is the crux of the whole question. Plato, in spite of his highmindedness, and even of his religious-mindedness to the point of admitting in the individual person a "rational principle at the root of moral distinctions," did not include *all* in what he conceived to be a well regulated state. Pagan that he was, and living before the Son of God had come into the world, he could not and did not grasp the sublime truth, "There shall be one fold and one shepherd" (*John* 10:16).

One fold and one shepherd! His Holiness Pope Pius XII in his first Encyclical reaffirmed this lofty conception of mankind calling it "that law of human solidarity and charity which is dictated and imposed by our

common origin and by the equality of the rational nature in all men, to whatever people they belong, and by the redeeming Sacrifice offered by Jesus Christ on the Altar of the Cross to his Heavenly Father on behalf of sinful mankind" (*Summi Pontificatus*, p. 16).

This is the voice of Peter. It echoes the voice of the first Peter: "God is not a respecter of persons, but in every nation he who fears him and does what is right is acceptable to him." (*Acts* 10:34)

So much for the Christian teaching on inter-racial equality. From it I conclude that the idea of "minority" groups is directly in conflict with the concept of oneness in Christ, and is essentially pagan. Further I conclude that in Catholic thinking there can be no such thing as "isolationism," political or racial.

VIRTUE OF CHARITY

Let us look next at the virtue on which the obligations rest that men as equals have toward one another. That virtue of course is charity.

By "charity" I do not mean merely the benevolence that prompts a man to give \$5 or even \$500,000 to the poor. I mean something wider, deeper, higher. I mean the *vinculum perfectionis*, the bond of perfection (*Col.* 3:14), binding men together as brothers of Christ and binding them to Him. I mean the divine impulse within a man to feel kindly

and to speak kindly to everyone, and to put down his inner repugnances, his dislikes and his prejudices, because such is the law of Christ.

I even mean by "charity" justice itself. Lessius, the great 17th Century authority on justice, holds in his classical work *De Justitia et Iure*, that charity is in effect the mother of justice, "because charity renders a man's will subject to the whole law of God, so that charity somehow contains within itself the sum of all the virtues." (*Lib. II. Cap. 1*)

Justice, to be sure, has different forms: the justice, binding a government to apportion burdens and privileges equitably to all its citizens, which is called distributive; the justice, binding each citizen in proportion to his ability, to discharge his duties to the entire body politic, which is called social; and the justice binding the citizen to render to every other what is his, which is called commutative. But whatever form justice assumes, in Christian thinking it has its roots in charity, and in the charity of Him who taught: "By this will all men know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another." (*John 13:35*)

This then, is the Catholic doctrine on racial equality and the duties it entails. It is the answer to the question, "What is the Catholic position regarding Negroes"?

The second question is: "What does that position require Catholics

to do?" That they should do and not merely *believe* goes without saying. And that the *doing* may not be put off is likewise beyond argument, particularly in view of the fact that less than 3 per cent of the 13,000,000 Negroes in the United States are Catholics.

A saying of St. Peter Claver, who worked among the Negroes in Cartagena, Colombia, up to the time of his death in 1654, might well be the rallying cry for action. When he was criticized for bringing medicine, bread, brandy, lemons and tobacco to the Negroes in the slave sheds at the port, he would reply: "We must speak to them with our hands, before we try to speak to them with our lips."

The same crisis that Peter Claver had to face, with over 10,000 living slaves landed at Cartagena each year, is before us, but only under a different form. He met it with God's grace, with incredible success, by action. Action, organized and individual, is what is asked of us, in the Church, in industry and in government.

In the Church, there is need of many more conferences such as you are holding today, and such as have been held in two instances since last November by the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. Then there is the splendid year-round work of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York, of your own Interracial Coun-

cil in Detroit, and in other localities, all of which should be broadened out and supported much more than they are. There are, too, other activities serving a like purpose, but instead of commending them for their accomplishments, I shall content myself with pleading for an extension of their organized services.

But besides organized action there is urgent need of individual action by Catholics. Unfortunately, the number of Catholics is all too few who make it a matter of conscience to be fair and just and charitable to Negroes the same as to their other fellow citizens. Nevertheless there are such Catholics, both men and women, and some who have even immunized themselves against the ridicule and "razing" of shallow friends and acquaintances. They are the salt of the earth.

I recall an incident a few years ago involving a Commissioner of Police in a metropolitan area with a population of over 900,000. He had had the courage, following a competitive examination, to promote a Negro staff policeman to the rank of Lieutenant. He was of course denounced as a "Nigger lover." This same Commissioner told me, in something of a Celtic accent but with real Celtic faith: "Father, I had to promote that man. He stood highest in the examination. He had a right to the promotion. If I didn't promote him, I couldn't make my confessions." This public official was putting his Faith

into practice. This is what I mean by personal action.

Let me cite another instance. Early in July a Catholic man and his wife told me that they had recently been asked to sign a petition in their neighborhood, binding home owners not to sell their homes to Negroes. This couple refused to sign. Actually they were the only home owners in the block that refused to do so. As a result, they and their children were subjected to every kind of cheap sarcasm and abuse by their neighbors. But they stood firm. They acted as they did, because they were Catholics, declining to do what they were asked to do because, as they said, it was wrong. Here again was personal action and, if you will, heroic action.

THE INDUSTRIAL FIELD

Let me take another field in which individual action under the spur of conscience is definitely called for—the field of industry. In this connection, may I digress a moment to express a personal opinion, for whatever it may be worth. I am convinced that, as a matter of practical strategy, we should concentrate our available resources on getting decent, Christian, brother-to-brother relationships between Negroes and whites established in industry, and that we will thereby hasten progress in getting like standards established in social and political life. Mainly for this reason, but also for considerations of time, I shall not

undertake to discuss the steps to be taken to break down the vicious discrimination now practiced outside of industry,—for example through the Poll Tax, Restrictive Covenants, and segregation in hotels and trains and the rest—but shall limit myself entirely to what should be done to assure equal employment opportunity as between Negroes and whites.

Industry, as everyone knows, is carried on by two parties, management and workers. And management, contrary to popular notions, is not something abstract or ethereal. Pardon me for saying such an obvious thing, but management is men, men with flesh and blood, men with family ties, and men with the same capacity for noble conduct and for pettiness as workers. Moreover, as men, employers are accountable in conscience for the policies in their establishments, and their responsibility increases or decreases, depending on whether they are big employers and are on big boards of directors, or are small employers and on small ones.

During the late war some influential employers, whatever their motive, took their obligations to Negro workers seriously, and enforced a policy of non-discriminatory employment throughout their plants, both in hiring and upgrading. I regret to say that of the cases that came to my notice, not more than two important Catholic employers took that stand. Here, indeed, is place for individual

action directed by individual conscience.

But what of the workers? What of the white man on the assembly line who will not work with Negroes? What of the white girl in a telephone exchange who will not sit alongside Negro girls, however refined or well trained they may be?

There is no blinking the fact that this un-Christian attitude is even more prevalent in industry among employees than it is among employers. In my observation, many employers would relax their opposition to hiring and upgrading Negroes, if they could feel sure that their employees would not bitterly resist the innovation. I have observed the same attitude on the part of some top union officials, who I am sure, would gladly abandon all union restrictions against Negroes, if the rank-and-file membership of the Union would not violently protest such action.

Explain this deplorable attitude among white workers as you will, and make full allowance for their fear that Negroes would "come in" to take their jobs, and even at lower rates. In my judgment, the major explanation is a narrow, selfish and un-Christian prejudice on the part of all too many white men and women who work.

What should be done? I can suggest only one thing. It is to examine and extend the successful experiments that were carried on in defense plants

during the War, in which whites and Negroes worked side by side, with a maximum of harmony, even to their own surprise. These experiments prove that the idea is not academic but, when sincerely tried, works. On the part of management, it will call for foremen training and foremen schools, the careful selection of Negroes for the departments to which they are sent to work with whites, and equally careful selection of superintendents who will have charge of these departments. On the part of workers, it will call for conviction within the white employe's soul that his Negro brother is, in Christ, his brother, and that he owes him in charity and justice no less than he owes his white fellow-employees.

Behold a form of Christian charity and justice too long neglected! Behold the "forgotten" virtue in shop and office! Is it too much out of line to suggest that Catholic wage and salaried employes take the initiative and form an organization of workers who will pledge themselves to the practice of racial charity and justice, and who will be ready to stand up and be counted to make it a reality?

Moreover, individual Catholics and non-Catholics should, in my opinion, call on the Federal and State governments to enact FEPC legislation without further delay. Really we should be ashamed of the little that an FEPC law would require. All that it would do is to prevent

an employer from denying a man an opportunity to earn his livelihood, to improve himself, because of the fact that this man's skin is black or because he belongs to a so-called minority group. Both Christian ethics and common decency require government to put an end to such injustice and inhumanity.

BARRING DISCRIMINATION

The states of New York, Massachusetts and New Jersey, have already responded to the enlightened demands of the people of these commonwealths, and have enacted FEPC laws, barring discrimination in employment because of race, creed, or national origin. We here in Michigan with our Negro population of some 208,000 have urgent need of such legislation. And I am happy to say that on March 15, 1945, the Michigan Catholic Welfare Committee, speaking for the Catholic Bishops of Michigan, presented to the Labor Committee of the Michigan Legislature, holding hearings on an FEPC Bill, a strong and unqualified endorsement of the measure before it. The Michigan State FEPC bill did not become law at the last legislature, but its enactment into law cannot long be delayed.

But even more than FEPC laws in separate States are necessary. There is need and crying need of a Federal FEPC, with full power of enforcement in the Federal Courts. A vast

area of injustice, long waiting for redress, cannot be reached by State action alone, for the reason that State courts have no jurisdiction, except perhaps concurrently with the Federal Government, over industries engaged in interstate commerce. But apart from any nice legalism, a nation-wide evil exists which can be remedied only by nation-wide action.

Say, if you will, that law cannot reform morals. This objection is valid in part, but I insist that in the case of a Federal FEPC it is valid only in part, if it is valid at all. The objection neglects the important lesson of history that when a high principle of justice and humanity is embodied into law, even over the opposition of a few, that principle takes on the majesty of government, and the law itself becomes a mighty force

for education and moral betterment. That result I am convinced would follow from the enactment of a Federal FEPC.

But Federal and State FEPC laws are directed against discrimination in only one field—industry. There are to be sure numerous other areas in which this vicious anti-Christian and anti-American practice prevails.

Time will not permit me to indicate what to do in these other areas. I will say, however, that the same formula of charity is to be applied in them as in business and industry.

What should Catholics do? What should all our people do? The Saviour answers: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart. . . . And thy neighbor as thyself. Do this and thou shalt live." (*Luke 10:27*)

THE CATHOLIC MIND

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: John LaFarge EXECUTIVE EDITOR: Benjamin L. Masse

With the collaboration of the *AMERICA* staff

EDITORIAL OFFICE: 329 West 108th St., New York 25, N. Y.

PUBLISHER: Gerald C. Treacy BUSINESS MANAGER: Joseph Carroll

BUSINESS OFFICE: 70 East 45th St., New York 17, N. Y.

The Catholic Mind

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